

Message Text

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SUBJECT: GUIDANCE TO EUROPEAN POSTS ON US/EC NINE
CONSULTATIONS

FROM SONNENFELDT AND HARTMAN

1. RUMSFELD RECENTLY SUGGESTED THAT WE DEVELOP AND
COMMUNICATE TO OUR AMBASSADORS IN WESTERN EUROPE A SIMPLE,
CLEAR FORMULA FOR ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF WHAT THE US
SEEKS BY WAY OF US-EC CONSULTATIONS. YOU COMMENTED THAT
THE FORMULATION PROPOSED BY RUMSFELD WAS UNACCEPTABLE, BUT
THAT SOME FORMULA SHOULD BE SOUGHT. AGAINST THE BACK-
GROUND OF CURRENT NINE VIEWS, THIS MESSAGE PROPOSES FOR
YOUR APPROVAL TALKING POINTS FOR USE BY OUR AMBASSADORS
IN DISCUSSIONS WITH OFFICIALS OF THE NINE AND OTHERS.

2. AS YOU KNOW, AT THE GYMnich FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING
OF APRIL 20-21, THE EIGHT MINISTERS PRESENT REACHED
CONSENSUS ON WHAT THEY TERMED A "COMPROMISE" BETWEEN THE
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FRENCH AND GERMAN POSITIONS ON US-EC NINE CONSULTATIONS.

THEY AGREED THAT ANY MEMBER COULD REQUEST AND OBTAIN A VOTE ON CONSULTATIONS WITH THE US AT ANY STAGE IN THE EC NINE INTERNAL DELIBERATIONS. SIGNIFICANTLY, THEY ALSO AGREED THAT ANY MEMBER COULD CONSULT BILATERALLY WITH THE US AT ANY TIME.

3. BECAUSE OF THE NINE'S UNANIMITY VOTING RULE, ANY

COUNTRY COULD, UNDER THE COMPROMISE PLAN, BLOCK FORMAL EC NINE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE US, AS FRANCE HAS DONE IN THE PAST. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THE PRACTICE DEVELOPS OF CONSULTING WITH US BILATERALLY, ANY OF THE NINE COULD OPENLY BLOCK EC NINE INITIATIVES IF IT DECIDED THAT US OBJECTIONS REGISTERED IN BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WERE WELL-FOUNDED.

4. AS YOU WROTE CALLAGHAN ON APRIL 25, FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, THIS PRAGMATIC APPROACH REPRESENTS AN ADVANCE. HOWEVER, THE NINE HAVE NOT FORMALLY APPROVED WHAT THEY INFORMALLY AGREED TO AT GYMnich.

5. WE BELIEVE THAT, IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EUROPEANS, WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE THOSE AMONG THE NINE WHO ARE WELL DISPOSED TO US TO ENHANCE THE PRAGMATIC PRACTICE OF CLOSER CONSULTATION ON A BILATERAL BASIS, AND SHOULD STIMULATE AN IMPROVEMENT IN OUR DIALOGUE ON A MULTI-LATERAL BASIS WITH THE NINE AS A GROUP. OVER THE LONGER TERM, WE ALSO WILL WANT TO DEVELOP THE SPIRIT AND HABIT OF CONSULTATIONS, INSTITUTIONALIZING IT IN A WAY THAT WILL MAKE THE PROCESS LESS DEPENDENT ON INDIVIDUAL PERSONALITIES AND INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES.

6. THE EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR, WHICH HAVE PUT THE FRENCH ON THE DEFENSIVE, HAVE HAD THE EFFECT OF GENERALLY DISCREDITING THE NOTION THAT ANY COUNTRY WHICH WANTS TO CONSULT IN ADVANCE WITH THE UNITED STATES IS UNDERCUTTING THE COMMUNITY. WE THINK THAT WE SHOULD EXPLOIT THIS NEW MOOD IN THE COMMUNITY BY ENCOURAGING THE EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS WHICH WISH TO SEE US-EC CONSULTATION IMPROVED. THUS, FOR TACTICAL PURPOSES WE SHOULD ASSUME

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THAT THE GYMnich FORMULA REPRESENTS AN AGREED POSITION OF THE NINE.

7. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, WE PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING GUIDANCE FOR ORAL USE BY AMBASSADORS. WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS CONSISTENT WITH EARLIER CONVERSATIONS YOU HAVE HAD WITH CALLAGHAN, SCHEEL, AND OTHER EUROPEAN LEADERS:

BEGIN TEXT

IN CONSULTATIONS WITH THE EC NINE ON ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO US, WE SEEK AN OPPORTUNITY TO REGISTER OUR VIEWS AND RECEIVE A RESPONSE TO THEM BEFORE FINAL DECISIONS ARE TAKEN. WE DO NOT EXPECT THE NINE TO AGREE

WITH US ON EVERY ISSUE, BUT WE WANT TO INSURE THAT DECISIONS ARE TAKEN IN FULL COGNIZANCE OF THE VIEWS AND CONCERNS OF THE UNITED STATES. WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE PROPOSITION THAT CONSULTING WITH US IN ADVANCE IN THIS WAY IS CONTRARY TO THE GROWTH OR EXISTENCE OF EUROPEAN UNITY. WE DO ACCEPT THE PROPOSITION THAT SUCH CONSULTATIONS MUST BE RECIPROCAL.

IN FURTHER EXPLANATION OF THE ABOVE GENERAL POSITION, YOU MAY ALSO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

1. WE NOTE THE INFORMAL CONSENSUS AMONG THE NINE AT GYMnich THAT ANY MEMBER MAY CONSULT BILATERALLY WITH US AT ANY TIME.

2. IN ADDITION, WE UNDERSTAND THAT THERE IS INFORMAL AGREEMENT AMONG THE NINE THAT ANY MEMBER MAY AT ANY TIME REQUEST AND OBTAIN A VOTE ON FORMAL CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE NINE AND THE U.S. IF PROPOSALS FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE US ARE NOT CONSISTENTLY BLOCKED BY THE VETO OF ONE OR ANOTHER MEMBER, THIS COULD ALSO BE A SIGNIFICANT STEP FORWARD.

3. THESE ARRANGEMENTS, IF SUCCESSFULLY DEVELOPED OVER TIME, COULD ENHANCE THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE US AND THE NINE BY DEVELOPING THE HABIT OF CLOSE CONSULTATION
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ON ISSUES OF MUTUAL CONCERN. IN THE SPIRIT OF RECIPROCITY, WE WILL EXAMINE AND RESPOND TO ANY PROPOSAL FOR CONSULTATIONS OFFICIALLY CONVEYED TO US BY THE NINE, AND WOULD HOPE THAT THE NINE WILL REMAIN RESPONSIVE TO OUR REQUESTS.

4. THE POLITICAL WILL TO COOPERATE IS THE UNDERLYING BASIS FOR EFFECTIVE CONSULTATIONS. WE MUST CULTIVATE THIS POLITICAL WILL AND USE IT TO DEVELOP ENHANCED AND FLEXIBLE CONSULTATION PROCEDURES WHICH REFLECT THE PRESUMPTION THAT CONSULTATIONS WILL TAKE PLACE WHEN ONE OR MORE OF THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED DESIRE THEM.
END TEXT. RUSH

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